ent: "To sacrifice the individual for the sake of the Party, for the sake of the class, for national liberation, or the liberation of mankind, even to sacrifice one's own life without the slightest hesitation, with a feeling of happiness -- this is the highest expression of Communist morality..."[9]

This is the basic principle: utter subordination of the individual to the Party. But when we examine some of the personal qualities which the Communists want, we find them linked in many ways to Chinese tradition. The good Communist is "able to love others and hate others" (a phrase from the Analects of Confucius), that is, he never injures his comrades for his own benefit but vigorously fights the enemies of the revolution. Towards his comrades his attitude is one of "genuineness and sympathy." (Analects) He "does nothing to others that he would not have done to himself." (Analects) He "grieves before all the rest of the world grieves and is happy only after all the rest of the world is happy." (Buddhist ideal of the Bodhisattva-savior, adapted by an eleventh century Confucian thinker.) He "has no individual apprehensions or private desires to obscure and pervert his investigation of things and understanding of true principles," (a restatement of the late Confucian

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9. Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member" in Compton, op. cit., p. 110. Nivison, op. cit., p. 18, points out that this prescription is close to the classic descriptions of the traditional virtue of chung -- absolute loyalty to superiors.

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view of purity of mind as being necessary for true knowledge.[10]

To attain these and other "good" qualities, the Communist, like his Confucian ancestors, is to pattern his character after approved models and to subject himself to intensive self-cultivation. In traditional China, the models of character and behavior found in the classics and histories were to be studied and followed by individuals who manifested a particular virtue, filial piety for example, were required reading. Now the Communists set up Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as personal models; everyone is capable of attaining the great qualities of these revolutionary geniuses if he tries.[11] Even selected heroes from China's "feudal past" are recommended as models.[12] Such models are presented in fiction, in textbooks, in newspapers, and young and old are urged to emulate these heroes. In addition, "model" workers, farmers, soldiers are feted and publicized, and their pictures and idealized biographies appear in all propaganda media.

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10. These characterizations are all from the authoritative treatise by Liu Shao-ch'i "On the Training of the Communist Party Member," translated in Compton, op. cit., pp. 108-55. The traditional sources are identified in Nivison, op. cit., p. 19-20.

11. Liu Shao-ch'i, op. cit., quoted in Nivison, p. 16.

12. Ch'en Sang, "Tang-hsing Yü Ssu Sheng-huo" (Party Nature and Private Life) in Lun Tang Yü Ko-jen (On the Party and the Individual) by Ch'en Po-ta and others, Hong Kong reprint, 1948, p. 3, cited in Nivison, op. cit., p. 76, note 16.

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Self-cultivation consists of being unremittingly conscious of one's faults and of Communist ideals, of being ever alert, in study and action, to the recrudescence of 'bad' attitudes which are the residue of one's pre-Communist education. Liu Shao-ch'i stresses the development of consciousness in the individual; through consciousness one is free from the determining forces of history and environment and becomes capable of working creatively for the aims of the new society. This emphasis on consciousness is connected with both traditional ethics and Soviet psychology. On the one hand, it has "an obvious affinity to the Neo-Confucian notion of cultivation as freeing the individual from the tyranny of blind habit and unconscious selfish motivations."[13] On the other, it reflects the recent development of Soviet psychology; from an earlier denunciation of consciousness as "smacking of bourgeois idealism" the Russians have come to the view that "consciousness is a central process in making man capable of forging his own destinies."[14]

The list of bad qualities denounced by Communists is long; liberalism, formalism, bureaucratism, opportunism, and a dozen others are being continually denounced. How does one rid oneself of these vices? The following formula, here used against the vice of individualism, is typical:

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13. Cf. Nivison, op. cit., p. 15.

14. Cf. Raymond Bauer, The New Man in Soviet Psychology, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 164 and passim. The quotations are from Jerome Bruner's forword to this volume, xxii.

pressed by Liu Shao-ch'i: 829

> "It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical forms..., their social relations, their forms of social organization as well as their brains, ideology, etc., are all continuously being changed and improved...." [18]

The traditional Chinese view of causation was related to their views of time and change. Sequences of events were seen to have a certain regularity, not that of cause and effect. Night follows day, but day is not the cause of night.[19] Through education one learned how to identify situations and to know the sorts of things that might happen. One learned to place oneself advantageously in a sequence of situations. The Communists seek to replace this older view with the Marxist idea of causation. A student is to learn the Marxist laws of social development, that certain causes always bring certain effects, and that when one has mastered the laws of causation, one can actively participate in bringing about the desired and inevitable results. 829 812

The Communist effort to replace the old attitudes toward time, change, and causation with new ones has tremendous implications. It seeks to destroy any tinge of fatalism, any inclination toward resignation, and to foster in the individual a restless search for the goals set by the Party.

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18. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On the Training of the Communist Party Member." For this passage, cf. Current Background No. 159, Jan. 31, 1952, p. 18.

19. Bunzel-Weakland, p. 31.

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In the field of philosophy, especially political philosophy, Mao Tse-tung's book are accepted as of unquestioned authority. His Selected Works has gone through several editions since 1949, each new edition being more beautifully and elegantly printed than the one before. But Mao has not written any new books since 1949. Political theorists who wrote on socialism before 1949 now limit their writings to short articles published in such journals as The New Reconstruction (Hsin Chien-she), explaining Communist terms and government policies. Fung Yu-lan, the philosopher, has only published one article, "Mao Tse-tung's On Practice and Chinese Philosophy," since he made his confession. His article is an attempt to establish some continuity in Chinese philosophy in the past centuries, especially as it is concerned with the problem of knowledge and action, and to place the various revolutions in the same context. The article attempts to make Mao Tse-tung's ideology seem respectable, but it adds nothing to the development of philosophy. This state of affairs is necessarily the case since "truth" was declared in Marxian writings before 1949, and there is no room for new ideas except in commentaries on "orthodox views." Cadres and students must study Party and government documents in the light of Marxian texts. By attacking "wrong" views, "correct" dialectic materialist views are vindicated. The recent mass attack on Hu Shih's "bourgeois" philosophy illustrates this point.[18]

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18. Criticism on Hu Shih's Ideology (3 vols.), Peking, San-lien shu-tien, 1955.

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000 describe all things within the reach of man's thought and experience in terms of purpose.

816 A peculiar fact in the history of Chinese thought is the absurdly small place in it occupied by the scientific ideal. It is peculiar because the Chinese have produced great thinkers, and great scientific inventions as well, yet these inventions have almost never been developed as in western civilization. Recently Chinese scholars, like Hu Shih, have endeavored to find scientific systems in ancient Chinese philosophies, but Hu has been criticized by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao for reading into passages what he wished to discover. Wahat[1] the Chinese classics really mean is not a question that can be discussed fruitfully by any except Chinese, but it seems clear that in spite of the beginnings of science ascribed to the disciples of Mo Ti and others, the trend of Chinese thought since Confucius, and indeed before him, has been to be interested in the problems of ethics and politics, and to interpret all things in terms of purpose rather than of mechanism.

812 771 It is true that in China there is found the entire range of magic, the mother of science. One western work on the Feng Shui, or " Wind-Water Doctrines " calls them the Chinese ideas of nature. These magical ideas and practices have often been confused with religion, to which they are actually antipathetic. Yet even in their magic the Chinese have sought a purpose, and in the chapter Hung Fan of the Shu Ching, " It is asserted that climatic change is directly related to the moral conduct of the people. " *(Encyl. Sin.*, Astrology) There have always been disciples of Confucius who have stood against the practice of magic, though sometimes their own principles have been merely more refined and sceptical rather than more truly religious, and on the whole Confucianism has erred on the side of agnosticism rather than superstition. But the Confucian officials have made no question about the existence of the ghosts and nature spirits with whom they entered into official relations on the part of the people they represented, and since this is true of the leaders of Chinese thought, it is natural that the common people should always have found personality behind the forces of nature, the unities of society and the abstractions of thought.

1 [Errata: should be what. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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As far as a foreigner may judge, the Chinese have a much stronger ethical feeling than religious. Chinese classical literature is remarkable for its freedom from the primitive obscenities which are found even in the Bible and a man who really tries to live up to the Confucian ideal is a very moral individual, while today it is very common for educated Chinese to have regular periods for self examination and ethical adjustment. But in the temples the Chinese onlookers are singularly lacking in what westerners consider the spirit of reverence, ridicule is cast upon those who devote themselves to a religious life, and I have frequently seen mockery and burlesque of the practices of devotion, carried on before the very altars of the gods. However, irreverence and doubt in the day time may very well go hand in hand with fear and belief at night, and many who profess themselves free from " superstition ", in time of danger would doubtless rush to " embrace the Buddha's foot. " There are few Chinese who in emergencies would not accept the existence and seek help from personal forces behind the various phenomena with which they are confronted. And there are, of course, sincerely devoted men, such as may be seen at the great Buddhist pilgrimages.

The ideas associated with personality and purpose are gathered together by introspection and the observation of the behaviour of other men. It is inevitable then that in measuring the universe in terms of purpose, man himself, as Protagoras said, should be the measure, and it is not reasonable to speak of religions as anthropomorphic as if that were a crime, for it is impossible that they should be otherwise. It seems also evident that man's reactions toward phenomena were based on mechanistic or purposive principles long before those principles themselves became distinct in the mind of anyone, and it is not necessary to suppose that primitive man, or modern man for that matter, had in his mind a complete cosmological system in order to see that his behaviour can be explained by certain principles of which he himself may never have been conscious. We may, therefore, attempt to sketch some of the ideas which consciously or unconsciously have influenced and guided the development of Chinese religious thought and practice, as they have guided in a greater or lesser degree the religious development of all peoples.

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whose temples are found everywhere, and who is worshipped as a god of literature and riches (Dore, vol. VI, art. 4) besides being the patron saint of several provinces. 796 798 794

Moreover, the positions of Confucius and Kuan Kung are different. The former is usually considered as the perfect man, while the latter is a god in full standing, and usually has the word Ti, the sign of divinity, added to his name. Both were historical characters and the facts of their lives are well known.

In a brief account it is not possible to go into the list of names commemorated in the Wen Miao, nor is it necessary, for it has already been done by Watters, but we can consider the cult of Confucius as a part of the state religion in the provinces, even though most of the facts are familiar.

A. — Confucius and the Wen Miao.

Confucius is the form in which the early Jesuits latinized the words K'ung Fu Tzi, or K'ung the Master. His personal name was Ch'iu, but being taboo, it is never pronounced, while in writing the character a stroke is omitted. He was born in 551 B. C. and died in 479 B. C. In his day the Chou dynasty was declining and the power lay with the feudal lords. Confucius became a minister to the prince of his native state, Lu, which would form a part of the modern Shangtung. His reforms and the uprightness of his character soon forced his resignation, and he spent the rest of his life wandering from state to state with his disciples, and editing the works which have become the classics of China. It does not seem that he himself wrote more than the Spring and Autumn Annals and some appendices to the Book of Changes. There are many accounts of his life in English. The few facts I have given are taken from Giles *(Biog. Dict.*, K'ung Chiu). 82 769

As to the position Confucius holds in the hearts of his countrymen, the words of the great historian, Szi Ma Ch'ien, are as true today as when they were written eighteen centuries ago.

" Countless are the princes and prophets that the world has seen in its

Szi [Errata: should be Szi-ma. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 116--Analyst]

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time; glorious in life, forgotten in death. But Confucius, though only a member of the cotton-clothed masses, remains among us after many generations. He is the model for such as would be wise. By all, from the Son of Heaven down to the meanest student, the supremecy of his principles is fully and freely admitted. He may indeed be pronounced the divinest of men." *(Ibid.)*.

Confucius himself felt his mission to have been a failure, yet his memory was honored from the first. His immediate disciples mourned at his grave for three years, and his lord, the Duke of Lu, built a temple for him, where sacrifices were offered until the time of Ch'in Shih Huang (221-210 B. C.). While he did not receive honors from the emperors until three hundred years after his death, his position must have been of great importance or Ch'in Shih Huang would not have burnt his books *(Encyl. Sin.*, Confucius). Under the Han dynasty which followed, the system of Confucius proved of greater value than any other, and with some lapses, has been adopted by the state ever since.

From the Han on, every dynasty has paid honors to the sage. Among the various titles are the following:

T'ang, 640, Hsien Shen Li Fu.
— 666, T'ai Szi.
— 739, Wen Hsien Wang.
Sung, 1012, Chih Shen (Most Perfect Sage). This was given by the emperor Chen Tsung, and has been confirmed by later rulers.
Yuen, 1308, Ta Ch'en Chih Shen.
Ming, 1530, Chih Shen Hsien Szi K'ung Tzi.

In 1233 the title of duke (Kung), was conferred on the representative of the family and is still continued, and under the empire the Duke K'ung ranked just below the imperial princes. In 1294, Kubilai Khan gave large estates to the family, which it still holds. Many emperors have sacrificed in person at the grave of Confucius, and every Hsien city must have a temple in his honor, where the officials sacrifice. This worship was discontinued

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for a time following the establishment of the republic in 1911, but it was resumed in 1913, and confirmed the next year in a mandate by Yuen Shih K'ai, who was president at the time (Giles and *the Encyl. Sin.)*.

Foreign observers have always differed as to whether the sacrifices to Confucius, to ancestors, and to great men generally are really religious, so it may be worth while noticing two instances where competent Chinese authorities have given their opinion. In 1700, the Jesuits requested the emperor K'ang Hsi to state what the worship of ancestors and of Confucius meant to the Chinese, and he decided that it was not religious *(Encyl. Sin.*, Rites Controversy). Again, in 1914, Yuan Shih K'ai declared, against the Confucian revivalists, that the ancient rite of worshipping Confucius had nothing to do with religion *(Ibid.* Confucius).

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What they meant probably was that the Chinese did not regard their ancestors and Confucius as gods, but although this is likely true, the worship or reverence paid to men fades so gradually into that offered to undoubted gods, that it is impossible to draw a clear line between them. Monotheism creates an enormous chasm between the Almighty and humanity, which cannot be found in Chinese religious conceptions, where the ascent to divinity is relatively easy. The sacrifices and the ritual are so similar that while both extremes may be clear, in many cases it would be impossible for the worshipper himself to say whether what he was doing was a religious or merely a reverential act. Opinion will continue to differ about instances, but I feel justified in treating ancestor worship and the Confucian sacrifices as religious observances because the same rite is used as in the worship of unquestioned gods like Shang Ti.

On the whole, the humanity of Confucius and his followers has been carefully guarded. Parker *(Studies in Chinese Religion*, p. 221), says that in 500 the Wei dynasty of Tartars ruling at that time in North China prohibited barren women from praying to Confucius for children, and doubtless many similar instances could be found. The attempt of the Manchus in the closing days of their rule to make the sage a god was a sop to an increasingly hostile public opinion, and never was effective. Moreover, there never

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has been a Confucian priesthood, images are infrequent, and divination is never practiced in Confucian temples (*Encyl. Sin.*, Confucius).

Under the republic there has been a movement among the literati to make Confucianism definitely religious, or to maintain that it always has been so, and it was against this movement that Yuan Shih K'ai's mandate was directed. There is a society called the K'ung Chiao Huei, which holds services in the temples on the birthday of Confucius. This is separate from the state worship, though in Anking nearly all the officials belong to the Huei. The movement does not seem to be a popular one, and is confined to a section of the literati. A handful of people attended the last birthday services in Anking. I was present, representing Bishop Huntington, of Anking, who had been invited by the society, and I took part in the observances, after stating clearly that I did not consider Confucius a god. This would seem to show that even this society considers what it does a national and patriotic rite, rather than a religious one, but as I said, it is difficult to draw a line. It is strange that Confucius is not the god of literature, but that place is filled by Wen Ch'ang.

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The Wen Miao, usually called by foreigners Confucian temples (K'ung Tzi Miao), are also known as P'an Kung, because of the ponds which are always found in the first court, and as Hsioh Kung, or temples of the scholars. They consist of three courts, with buildings between, running in a north and south direction. All the walls are painted red. The main hall is behind a terrace above the second court. The entrance to the first court, which would be the south gate, was not built until a man of the district had achieved the rank of Chuan Yuen. This was the title given to the first place in the national triennial examinations in Peking, and so was the highest honor a scholar could obtain. As in most pretentious Chinese buildings in the old style, a large " Spirit Wall " was placed opposite the entrance. Though these walls are found in most places, ancestral temples in the country do not seem to have them, and they are not obligatory anywhere. Anking has both Fu and Hsien Hsioh Kung, but the latter is almost in ruin, and it is the former that I will describe.

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779 812 In the temple are six Pien[1] with the word, " Ling " (Efficiency), and the following Pien and Tui Tzi[2] (Balanced inscriptions).

Pien Eh.

The shelter is wide and large.
Dreadful, famous, clear and effective.
Shines upon the hearts of men.
The Tao of Heaven rewards and punishes.

Tui Tzi.

1. *a)* " No matter how deceitful you are, or how bad, or how much you act against your conscience, Heaven is always watching you. "

b) " You must know that I am a just god, who rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked. I reward and punish in darkness, exactly and without error. "

2. *a)* " I control this world and the other. My courage shelters Wan Chiang (Anhui), and the 3.000 classes of society. "

b) " My power is used to punish and to reward. My grace overspreads a million men. "

3. *a)* " May the snow lie long upon the fields, even though it borrow the strength of the wind ? "

b) " Can the clouds darken the earth for long, even though they borrow the power of the tempest ? "

4. *a)* " Benefits follow the slow accumulation of good works, and punishments upon evil deeds. When you look upon the rewards of the chaste and the punishments of adulterers, you will clean your face and your heart. You will believe in Tao, and turning your boat, soon reach the safe land. "

b) " My rank is equal to that of the Three Dukes (San Kung). I am more awful than the (rest of the) Five Mountains. When you enter my temple your goodand evil deeds are separated. If you try to deceive when you stand before me, you are like the proverb 'Although he has eyes, he cannot tell T'ai Shan from other mountains'. "

1 [Horizontal scroll or tablet at the rear of the main hall of worship.]

2 [Errata: should be Tui Tze.]

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These inscriptions show very well the ethical character of Taoism. The following memorial, from a stone tablet in the temple courtyard, gives an idea how such places were built, and the method of rewarding contributors.

A Stone Tablet in the Tung Yo Miao

" Temples are the shelters of gods. The Tung Yo Miao was first built in the T'ang Dynasty and served as a safeguard for the East Gate and for the whole province. The temple was finely decorated, but after the war (the T'aip'ing Rebellion), it was in ruins, and only the foundations were left. In the reign of T'ung Chih, our forefathers (twenty two names are given), rebuilt the main hall and the porches. Later two more buildings were added, and the Pi Hsia Kung (Hall of the Blue Sky). In the reign of Kuang Hsu, twenty four persons (the names are given), gathered contributions from the merchants and gentry of the city for the erection of a stage for theatricals, two porches and an image of the god, all according to the ancient arrangement. Although the work was never completed, the result was impressive. It was originally intended that the names of the contributors should be carved upon a stone monument, but as funds were not available it could not be done. The building gradually decayed under the weather. A later attempt to raise money was made, resulting in some repairs. The redecorations are now complete, and therefore it is our duty to have the names of the former contributors carved on a monument. Their deeds and their difficulties in this work will be remembered for ever. So we have made this record.

" The 11th moon of the 24th year of Kuang Hsu " (1899 A. D.).

I have been to the Tung Yo Miao many times, but I have never yet seen anyone worshipping in it, except on the birthday.

The other Taoist temple, the Yiu Shen Kuan, is a small, one room affair, containing no images, but tablets of the Taoist trinity. Formerly its dimensions were more imposing. Yiu Shen means " Holy Protector ". The following paragraphs from the Hsien Chih are interesting :